The CRISIS

NOVEMBER, 1960 15¢

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Vol. 67, No. 9 **Whole Number 577**

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November, 1960

COVER

Phyllis Bash of White Plains, N. Y., was soloist at the 51st annual NAACP Convention, St. Paul, Minnesota, June 21-26. Miss Bash is a senior at the Juilliard School of Music, New York City.

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.* THE CRISIS *is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., Arthur B. Spingarn, president; John Hammond, vice-president; Samuel Williams, secretary; Theodore Spaulding, treasurer; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscription $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given, and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July 22, 1949, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.*

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■ **Why better economic conditions will help the Negro to combat racial disadvantages**

The NAACP Stand on Economic Issues

By Alfred Baker Lewis

THE N.A.A.C.P. annual convention, besides taking a stand on the various aspects of civil rights, takes a strong position on economic issues too.

We support, and have for many years, collective bargaining and democratic trade unionism, by which we mean unions that do not discriminate. Many hundreds of thousands of Negroes are in unions, and we would not be true to ourselves if we did not support a type of organized labor which is clearly to their interests. Unions make it possible for both Negroes and white workers to prevent petty persecution by foremen and supervisors, to get part of their pay plus surgical and hospital expenses when they are sick or injured in non-industrial accidents, to get additional pension payments in a good many cases over and above those provided by the federal government's old age benefits, and to gain higher pay and shorter hours in keeping with increased productivity.

Without a union an individual worker is powerless to protect himself against exploitation in dealing with an employer, especially when the employer is a great corporation. If a worker does not get a job or loses one he is in a very bad situation, especially if he has bought anything on time, either a home, a car, or a washing machine. For he may lose them through repossession, plus the money he has already paid on account. But if an employer does not get a particular worker it is very easy to get another one, especially in these days when, because of tight money and similar restrictive economic policies, the rate of unemployment is and has been above 5 per cent. Consequently the bargaining power of a single worker in relation to his employer is almost nil. A strong union is necessary to even up this wide difference in bargaining power.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS is NAACP treasurer and a member of the national board of NAACP directors.

When unions do discriminate, therefore, we fight the discrimination, not the union, although the union which practices discrimination may feel that we are fighting it when we use all the legal means we can to end such wrong practices.

Racial discrimination exists to a considerable degree among the skilled unions in the building trades, and in the railroad operating brotherhoods, although in the latter industry the trainmen have recently ended their policy of racial exclusion. Some other unions maintain segregated locals. Some unions also have tolerated separate lines of seniority, so that Negroes cannot hope to become foremen or to get the most highly paid jobs, no matter how long they may have worked in the plant. To help end such discrimination we support the newly formed American Negro Labor Council under the able leadership of A. Philip Randolph, which is working both to end discrimination in unions and to promote support for democratic trade unionism among Negroes.

In this connection we have opposed the use of Negroes as strikebreakers, both because we support organized labor in general and because experience shows that Negroes used in this way increase racial antagonism and nearly always are fired when the strike is over.

The unions have helped to get passed state fair employment practice laws in those states where we have them. This is true even though in my state of Connecticut, for example, the State Civil Rights Commission has brought unions into court for discrimination more often than employers. (Usually employers are the ones guilty of job discrimination. The union, if there is one in the plant, simply goes along with the employer's policy. But there are exceptions.)

The Association also favors a rise in the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, with a broadening of the coverage to include most of those not now included. A bill to do that in three annual rises has been introduced by Senator Kennedy. It passed the Senate, but was blocked in the House. Such a rise in the minimum wage would help to increase purchasing power. Today we have men out of work or on part-time in most industries, plus idle equipment. An increase in purchasing power, therefore, would help to increase employment to make a stronger and wider base for prosperity.

We have also taken a stand against the so-called "right to work" laws. There are laws which make it possible for a worker to work in a union shop where conditions which are fairly good have been won by the efforts and sacrifices of union members, but without paying dues to the union. Since most of us are willing to get something for nothing, if we can, the effect and the purpose of these laws is to weaken the union and to diminish its ability to police the pay rates and working conditions it has won in union shops, and to protect those standards from the competition of ruthless and exploiting employers by extending these good union conditions to other concerns. That is why the NAACP has opposed these "right-to-work laws."

We have also favored better social security. Throughout the years part

of our program for better social security has been enacted. This is true for example of our demand for widening the coverage of old age benefits to include domestic and farm workers and the employees of non-profit organizations. But we have not won our demand to improve the benefits and widen the coverage of unemployment compensation laws or to federalize the jobless pay system. At present each state is pretty much a law unto itself so far as unemployment compensation is concerned, with the result that the amount and duration of the benefits differ fairly widely. And it is a fair guess that Negro workers in the southern states will not get as just treatment in the administration of the laws as they do in the northern states where a larger proportion of Negroes vote.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Senator Kennedy back in 1958 introduced a bill for a broad revision of the unemployment compensation system, providing federal funds for more people and a longer duration of benefits. The Eisenhower Administration offered a much weaker bill. When Senator Kennedy tried to amend it, because the 1957-58 recession made more unemployment pay important, to provide benefit payments for 13 more weeks and for federal administration, if the states failed to act, his amendment was defeated 44 to 47. Voting for it were 31 Democrats and 13 Republicans; voting against were 14 Democrats, of whom 11 were Southern Democrats, and 33 Republicans.

The reason for having a federal system of unemployment insurance in place of all the separate state funds is not just to jack up the amount and duration of benefits in those states which now provide the poorest benefits. It is also to protect the state funds from going broke if a particular industry, which has a lot of workers in that state, is especially hard hit by unemployment. During the last recession, for example, when the auto industry was hard hit, the Michigan unemployment compensation fund was very seriously depleted; and while it did not have to suspend payments, it would probably have had to do so if the recession had continued only a little longer.

Our organization also favors completing the social security system by adding compulsory health insurance under a plan which would allow freedom of choice by doctors and patients. This is sound common sense. We have now a system of compulsory health insurance for industrial accidents through workmen's compensation liability insurance in the various states. Some states have state funds for this purpose, so that all of the premium goes for administration and payment of benefits, plus research on prevention, instead of being reduced somewhat by the competitive costs of getting the business (known technically as acquisition costs) plus the profits of the stock companies. Ohio is the largest state which has such a fund.

There is no reason why a person who is unable to work because he is injured on the job should get part of his pay plus medical and hospital care, while a person who cannot work because of illness or a non-

industrial accident cannot get such benefits. The absence of any government health insurance is especially absurd when we consider the case of a jobless man drawing unemployment compensation who gets sick. Technically he cannot get any more unemployment compensation, for the state laws say that to get such compensation a man must be able and willing to work, and when he is sick he is not able to work. Just when his expenses go up because of illness his jobless pay stops. This is crazy.

MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL CARE

Some states have provided part of their pay for those who cannot work because they are ill though adding disability compensation to their unemployment compensation plans, and charging a somewhat higher payroll tax to cover the cost. But such state disability insurance does not provide medical, surgical or hospital care.

Also, the unions have provided, through collective bargaining in some cases, some protection in the form of part-pay, surgical fees, and hospital treatment for their members who cannot work because of temporary disability apart from industrial accidents. These plans are weak or good depending on the strength of the union. But they apply only to union members, and seldom apply to the wives and children even of union members. But the biggest deficiency in these union-sponsored plans is that when a person can no longer work because of old age, and at the very time when illness strikes more often and is apt to last longer, the old persons are no longer covered because they are no longer employees.

To meet this need the Forand bill has been introduced in Congress. It would add one-half percent to the social security taxes, one-fourth to be paid by the worker and one-fourth by the employer and would provide, for old people getting old age benefits, hospital care up to 60 days and nursing home care up to 120 days in any one year, plus surgical costs. This is good as far as it goes, but not good enough, for it makes no provision for those who are not already included in the old age benefit system. Senator MacNamara of Michigan introduced a bill to provide the same benefits for such people, payable out of general treasury funds. But President Eisenhower has said he would veto any plan that relies on the social security system for raising funds, and therefore most of the Republicans, with the help of most of the Southern Democrats, have thus far been able to block any action along the lines of the Forand bill.

In general these economic demands of the NAACP are helpful to people with modest incomes. Therefore, they would be especially advantageous to Negroes, whose incomes in the South are only one-half of those of whites, and where even in the North they are only seven-tenths of those of whites.

Some question has always been raised as to why we should take a stand on such matters instead of concentrating solely on civil rights. The answer is, first, that Negroes are people and interested therefore in anything that concerns people in general

(*Continued on page 622*)

MRS. HALLYE A. WEST, *president of the Philadelphia (Pa.) chapter of the Gay Northeasters, presents a $700 check to James K. Baker, a member of the legal redress committee of the Philadelphia branch, for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., in memory of deceased members Vashti De Miranda and Christine P. Wilson, as Dr. James P. Ramsey, an NAACP life member, looks on.*

Second Baptist Church, Richmond, Va., takes out NAACP life membership in memoriam for Deacon D. B. Glenn. Pictured, from L, are H. J. Hall, Grady McCullough, Dr. J. M. Tinsley of NAACP and C. O. Dean.

Roy Wilkins (L) points to names of famed integration stalwarts listed on bronze plaque in NAACP office, for visiting Callas Brown, sit-in leader of North Carolina College in Durham, N. C.

De Molay Consistory No. 1, SPRS 32, Philadelphia, Pa., gives $500 check for NAACP life membership to local NAACP branch officials pictured at left: Thomas Logan, Hon. Theodore Spaulding, E. Washington Rhodes. Lodge officials are Samuel Holmes, Sinkler Casselle, and Walter Beckett.

Mrs. Hilda Hollyer, director Bronx Welfare Center, presents NAACP life membership check, on behalf of Center, to Mildred Bond (3rd from R) of NAACP national office. Others pictured are (from L) Max Waldgeir, Audrey Solomon, Mrs. Olive Smith and Jeanne Monica.

Mai Mars present $500 check to Brooklyn, N. Y., branch in payment for NAACP life membership. Pictured from L, Mrs. Betty Hollings, Mrs. Maude Thompson, presenting check to Probyn Thompson of Brooklyn branch, and Mrs. Llewelyn Delsarte.

Mayor George Christopher (L) of San Francisco, Calif., takes out a life membership in the NAACP through local branch president Terry Francois.

Harry H. Adam

ZETAS COMPLETE LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Mrs. Norma Madkin, Zeta Phi Beta Sorority committee chairman for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, presents a $350 check to Edward Warren, president of the Los Angeles, Calif., branch of the NAACP. This sum represents the final payment on the Alpha Phi Zeta chapter on its NAACP life membership.*

■ What role does the newspaper play in racial integration?

The American Press—Key to Social Acceptance?

By Jim Collison

THE *Indiana Catholic and Record* in a study of the coverage of Negro social affairs by Indianapolis dailies recently sought to learn why it is "general practice throughout the country for the daily press to habitually ignore the Negro community in its social coverage."

When I read about this Indiana study, I thought of my own experiences in newspapering—experiences that convince me American newspapers generally treat Negroes as freaks. I have gone so far as to attempt publication of a newspaper that treated Negroes fairly in news coverage at Walterloo, Iowa, where Negroes represent about ten per cent of the population. After five issues the project failed. The community was not ready for equality. Not even in news columns.

What is the role of the newspaper? Does American journalism hold a key to social acceptance of minorities?

What is the problem today? When the editors of the Indianapolis papers were questioned about ignoring the Negro community they expressed satisfaction that their papers are doing an "adequate" job of publicizing newsworthy social events in the Negro community. One editor said that any additional coverage of Negro social events in the Indianapolis area "might stir up racial tensions."

As an example of the problem with picture coverage, I describe two pictures in a recent issue of a mid-

---

JIM COLLISON is a staff writer on the *Mason City Globe-Gazette* of Mason City, Iowa.

west daily in a community with a small Negro population. One picture was in three parts. The series was carried widely throughout the nation that day. The series showed Dorothy Lebohner, 18-year-old New York white girl, and her boyfriend, 21-year-old Warren Sutton, a Negro. The girl was picked up as a wayward minor. She said she planned to marry Sutton. Her parents objected. The second picture showed Helen Stuart, one of thirteen Negroes integrated in Floyd county, Virginia. Helen was walking past a white classmate at Check High School near Floyd, Va. It was the first integration in mountainous southwest Virginia.

NEGROES IN NEWS STORIES

I am a newspaperman and I believe both pictures had news value. Two days later the same newspaper used a picture of Clennon King, a Negro history professor who announced in Miami, Fla., that he is the Independent Afro-American Unity Liberation Party's candidate for president. This picture, too, has valid news interest.

But a steady diet of such "freak" pictures without a proportionate portrayal of a community's Negroes in normal pursuits, will soon give a distorted picture of the Negro minority. The picture is already distorted in too many American communities.

I had firsthand knowledge of the problem in Waterloo, Iowa, where the daily newspaper pursued a policy of identifying Negroes in crime stories. The policy was finally dropped in 1956 after a community-wide campaign lead by the local branch of the NAACP. (Local Negroes still accuse the paper of discriminating against Negroes in stories by often distorting the news so that Negroes appear in an unfavorable light or, more often, by completely ignoring stories involving Negroes.)

The campaign in Waterloo to purge Negro identification in crime stories reached its climax in late 1955. A prominent Negro in the community, on behalf of the Fair Practices Committee of a local union, wrote a letter to the editor of the Waterloo paper.

In part the letter said:

> As American citizens we believe that when a crime or misdemeanor is committed, racial or religious identification should not tend to magnify or minimize the degree of guilt or innocence. . . .
>
> We have always maintained that the greater the influence or power, there is also an equal amount of responsibility and justice owed to those people who are under its influence. In a world which is daily shrinking because of modern scientific inventions, we Americans should be daily welded into a stronger human link of understanding rather than to be daily split asunder by means over which we have no control.

The letter ended with this sentence: "We are all of the human race."

The newspaper's answer was simple. In an editor's note this explanation appeared: ". . . If members of the Negro race are to be identified for their desirable accomplishments, it is only consistent to identify them in crime stories. This newspaper strives in its news columns to present a balanced picture, and has repeatedly reported the achievements of Negro citizens."

The Waterloo paper's policy gain-

ed statewide attention. Dick Brunner, then secretary of the Iowa Commission to Study Discrimination in Employment, said in a speech before the state convention of the Iowa branch of the NAACP:

. . . The leaders of the community of Iowa should be talking about discrimination and they should be doing something about it. Who are the leaders? Well, there is the press of this state, for one group. But do they ever call for a solution to the problem of discrimination? I'm afraid not. Far from calling for solutions to the problems of discrimination, one newspaper in this state helps add to the problems. . . . They have the policy—and, to my knowledge, they're the only daily paper in the state with this policy—of identifying Negroes by race in news stories. This is news, they say. At the expense of community harmony, they're going to continue with this policy, even though practically every major metropolitan daily in the North has long ago dropped this practice. . . .

WHITE ATTITUDES BASIC

The problem goes deeper than the front pages or the society pages of newspapers. The problem is in the heart of the community. White people do not want integration. They object to "integration" on the society pages as much as they do to integration in the churches or in the schools. Placing the same-sized picture of a Negro bride next to that of a white bride symbolizes equality. This antagonizes the white reader because he doesn't like to admit—as much as he preaches "equality"—that he is not the most important person on God's little earth.

A Gallup Poll showed that a significant proportion of Northern whites actually object to sending their children to schools where at least half of the students are colored. Fifty-eight per cent object to sending their children to schools where more than half of the children are colored.

All of this is reason for the press to adopt a positive policy of giving fair coverage to every segment of the community. The press would do well to imitate in picture coverage what has been proposed for book publishers.

Last year New York City's board of superintendents of education recommended that textbook publishers include non-white individuals in illustrations of the American scene. Common illustrations in textbooks, as in newspapers, portray the Negro "freaks." The Negro is shown, not as a co-worker in a factory or as a respected doctor in his community, but as a cotton picker.

The *Indiana Catholic and Record*, in commenting on its study, stated that "the newspapers could help the cultured Negro tremendously by subtly and indirectly educating the white community." A more extensive coverage of Negro social affairs in the society pages of the daily press, the paper stated, "would help to hasten the day when the Negro will enjoy the social acceptance he deserves." The paper added: "The trouble is that the white community knows nothing about the many cultured Negroes. As far as the daily papers are concerned, these fine people do not exist."

I have found in my dealings with Negroes that they do not want spe-

cial attention. They want their fair share of news coverage in newspapers. And they would like nothing better than to have the whole business of race distinction dropped altogether.

This approach is stated well in a reply to the Waterloo newspaper's statement of policy back in 1955.

RACIAL COMPLEX IN NEWS

Louis Bultena who, as instructor at Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls, assisted in preparing a class study project report entitled "Negro-White Relations in the Waterloo Metropolitan Area," wrote:

> In the first place there is a genuine question as to whether you do give society notices and marriage announcements or achievement stories proportionate to the total Negro social activities or achievements. Aside from this, do you insist on the same kind of conditions when you deal with the whites, or, for that matter, with any other group such as the Catholics or the Jews? Do you tell whites that if they are to get favorable mention of any kind in news stories they must also submit to race labeling in crime stories? Obviously you do not. No crime committed by a white person is ever identified as 'white' in your columns.
>
> In the second place when you identify a Negro in an achievement story such, let us say, as success in school, your act may seem laudatory on the surface, but in actuality it often carries a subtle innuendo. There is the insinuation that 'this is such an unusual and exceptional thing since in general Negroes are of inferior ability.'
>
> Why not drop the whole racial complex in news reporting of all kinds except when racial identification is necessary to the story. . . .

The press certainly cannot ignore the racial problem. Many Americans would like to see more printed on the subject. A survey sponsored by the *Catholic Digest* several years ago indicated that most Americans actually think that publicity given to the race problem would assist in a solution.

This question was asked in the survey: "Do you think the Negro-white problem will be solved quicker if it is kept in front of everybody or if it is kept quiet?" Seventy-one per cent of the Northern whites and 40 per cent of the Southern whites thought the problem should be publicized. Significantly 54 per cent of the Northern whites felt that the practice of not mentioning the race of a suspect in reporting crimes actually helps toward a solution of the race problem. Only 16 per cent disagreed with the policy.

Most Americans, the survey showed, want to see the race problem given front page attention. This does not mean Americans want to read about "Negro" crimes. The magazine, in commenting on the results of the survey concluded that those polled ". . . think that America's greatest problem cannot be solved without the aid of the press."

Does the community newspaper, then, hold a key to social acceptance of the Negro? The newspaper holds a key but in too many instances it has refused to use it.

Cecil Layne

ONE FRIEND TO ANOTHER—*Mary Lefson, president of the New York City Department of Welfare branch, receives an NAACP life membership plaque on behalf of her organization from Thomas MacDonald, Jr., of the Harlem Welfare Center. The life membership was a gift of the Harlem Welfare Center.*

Rev. J. A. Delaine (R), former integration leader in Clarendon county, S. C., is cited in New York City by S. C. NAACP. Rev. George A. Singleton does the honors.

Dr. Subheal S. Anderson, New York City dentist, receives his NAACP life membership plaque, in his office, from Dr. George D. Cannon, chairman of the New York Metropolitan NAACP life membership committee.

Mrs. Florence Allen Holmes (L), president of National Association of Negro and Professional Women's Clubs, receives NAACP life membership plaque on behalf of group's executive committee. Presentation was made by Mildred Bond of NAACP national office.

Notice of Nominations to the Board of Directors of the NAACP

These persons have been nominated by the Nominating Committee for the three-year term ending December 31, 1963:

MRS. DAISY BATES

Little Rock, Arkansas. Present member of the Board since 1957. President Arkansas State Conference. 43 Spingarn Medal Recipient in July, 1958. Life Member NAACP.

C. R. DAREN

Meridian, Mississippi. Member of Board since 1958. Served as a volunteer worker for fourteen years. Organized a youth council of the Meridian. Miss. Branch NAACP; served as president of the Meridian Branch for many years, and has been a member of the state executive board. He has served as president of the state conference of branches at its most crucial time in history. Subscribing Life Member NAACP.

HON. HUBERT T. DELANY

New York City. Lawyer. Member of Board since 1934. Chairman Committee on Branches and youth Work. Member Budget Committee and Committee on Administration. Former judge Domestic Relations Court, New York City. Life Member NAACP.

MAX DELSON, ESQ.

New York City. Lawyer, firm of Delson, Levin & Gordon. Member of Board since 1957. Member state and federal bar. Counsel in the U.S. for the Republic of Indonesia, Ghana, Union of Burma, Virgin Islands Association. Director of Council for Management Guidance, member of Board of New Rochelle Council for Unity. General counsel for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Member numerous associations, including state bar association. American Bar Association. Life Member NAACP.

PROF. S. RALPH HARLOW

Northampton, Massachusetts. Member of Board of Directors since 1943. Member National Church Committee. Author and Lecturer; retired professor of religious education at Smith College. Life Member NAACP.

REV. JAMES HINTON

Columbia, South Carolina. Member of National Board since 1952. Formerly President South Carolina State

Conference 1941-1958. Leader in public school segregation fight. Agency Director of Pilgrim Life and Health Insurance Company, Augusta, Ga.

DR. H. CLAUDE HUDSON

Los Angeles, California. Member Board of Directors since 1952. President Los Angeles Branch 1924-34; member American Dental Association; active civic and professional affairs; president Broadway Savings and Loan Association. Life Member NAACP.

MR. GEORGE K. HUNTON

Brooklyn, New York. Member Board of Directors since 1955. Executive Secretary of Catholic Interracial Council. Received Papal Award for interracial work in 1950. Charter member National Council for Permanent Federal FEPC. Founder Catholic Interracial Council. Editor Interracial Review.

JOSEPH G. KENNEDY, ESQ.

San Francisco, Calif., Lawyer. President of the Northern California Area Conference, NAACP. Deputy Public Defender, City and County of San Francisco, Calif. Member regional legal committee.

MRS. DAISY LAMPKIN

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Member Board since 1949. Formerly field secretary for NAACP. Member of Branch, Budget and Life Membership Committees; organized Links, Inc. project which brought in $27,000 in Life Memberships in 1956. Vice-President Pittsburgh Courier. Life Member NAACP.

CHESTER I. LEWIS, JR., ESQ.

Wichita, Kansas. Attorney. President of Wichita, Kansas. Branch, NAACP. Member State Legal Redress Committee, and National Labor Committee. Subscribing life member.

MR. CARL MURPHY

Baltimore, Maryland. Member National Board since 1931; served on official bodies such as Governor's Commission on Unemployment Insurance and Board of Trustees Morgan State College. President AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers. Life Member NAACP.

MR. WALTER REUTHER

Detroit, Michigan. Member National Board since 1949. Formerly President of Congress of Industrial Organizations, President of the United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, and Vice-President of the AFL-CIO. Life Member NAACP.

MR. ARTHUR B. SPINGARN

New York City. President of NAACP since 1940. Member of Board since 1915. Chairman National Legal Committee 1909-1938. Ex-officio member of all Board committees. Noted collector of Negro literature. Distinguished lawyer. Life Member NAACP.

BISHOP STEPHEN G. SPOTTSWOOD

Washington, D. C. Member of Board since January, 1955. Bishop AME Zion Church. Member National Church Committee. Former President District of Columbia Branch. Life Member NAACP.

DR. U. S. WIGGINS

Camden, New Jersey. Member of Board since 1949. President Camden Branch, former president New Jersey State Conference. Physician. Member Branch Committee and Health Committee. Life Member NAACP.

READ *THE CRISIS*

The new nominees for the Board on this list are:

Joseph G. Kennedy, San Francisco, Calif.
Chester I. Lewis, Jr., Wichita, Kansas

Article II of the Constitution provides as follows:

"3 (b) Independent nominations may be made by petitions signed by not less than thirty (30) members of the Association in good standing by filing the same with the Executive Secretary *not later than November 1* of each year. The Executive Secretary shall send to each branch of the Association, not later than November 15 of each year, a ballot containing the nominations of the Nominating Committee, plus the nominations by independent petition. Each branch at its annual meeting shall by a vote of the members present, make its choices for the members of the Board of Directors. The said choices shall be marked upon the ballot submitted by the Executive Secretary and the said ballot shall be signed by the president and secretary of the branch and must be returned to the national office not later than December 31 of each year. The said ballots shall be held by the Executive Secretary in a safe place until the annual meeting.

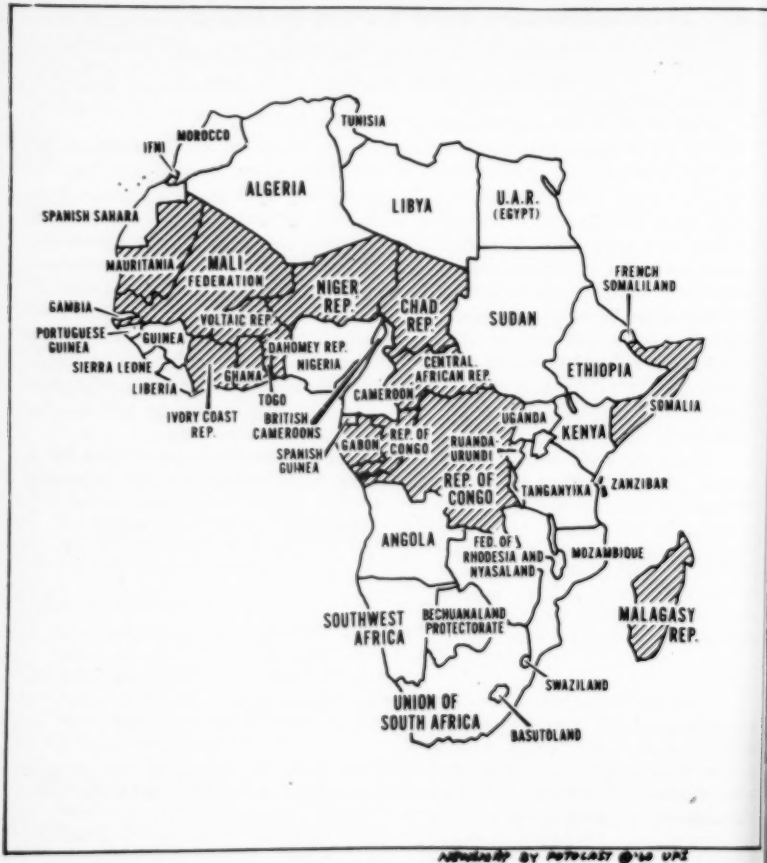
"(c) At each annual meeting the said ballots shall be opened by a committee selected at said annual meeting and counted on the following basis:

	Members			*Votes*
Branches of from	50	to	100*	2
	100	to	500	3
	500	to	1,000	4
	1,000	to	2,500	5
	2,500	to	5,000	6
	5,000	to	10,000	8
	10,000	to	20,000	9
Over	20,000			10

"Any ballot or ballots contained the name or names of any persons for election to the said board not nominated in accordance with the Constitution** shall be void."

*"On May 13, 1957 the Board of Directors voted to interpret this table so as to make each numerical class inclusive at its upper limit: e.g., a Branch of 100 members has (2) votes (or voting delegates); a Branch of 500 members has (3) votes (or voting delegates); and so on."

**All references to constitution are to NAACP Constitution or *Blue* Book.



United Press

INDEPENDENT AFRICA—*The newly independent African nations are shaded, with the exception of Nigeria, which became independent on October 1 after this map was compiled. Note also that the Mali Federation has split into the Republic of Mali (formerly the French Sudan) and Senegal.*

HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW

Special Issue:

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Schools, Courts, and the Negro's Future
John A. Morsell, N.A.A.C.P.

Educational Opportunities and the Negro Child in the South
Carroll L. Miller, Howard University

Events in the South Since 1954
Marvin Wall, Southern Education Reporting Service

The Scholastic Performances of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia
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Demonstration Guidance Project in New York City
J. Wayne Wrightstone, Board of Education of the City of New York

The Role of the Counselor in the Guidance of Negro Students
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Increasing the Quantity and Quality of Negro Enrollment in College
Richard L. Plaut, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students

The Negro College in America
Stephen J. Wright, Fisk University

Volume Thirty, Number Three, $1.10 per copy

Harvard Educational Review, Lawrence Hall E, Kirkland St.
Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.

THEATRE BENEFIT PLANNERS—*Proceeds from musical "Valmouth" on October 2 at York Theatre, New York City, went to help the NAACP. Four members of the committee, headed by Mrs. Margurite Belafonte, are (from L) Mrs. Al Hibbler, Mrs. George Treadwell, Julian "Cannonball" Adderley, and Mrs. Willie Mays.*

UPI Photo

FIVE-DOLLAR HAIRCUT—*Mrs. Mildred A. Flott testified before SCAD on October 6 that a Long Island barber tried to charge $5 to give her 8-year-old son, Charles E. Flott, Jr., a haircut. Mrs. Flott told SCAD that the barber shop has a sign reading, "Kinky Hair Cut $5." The boy's father is a Negro letter carrier.*

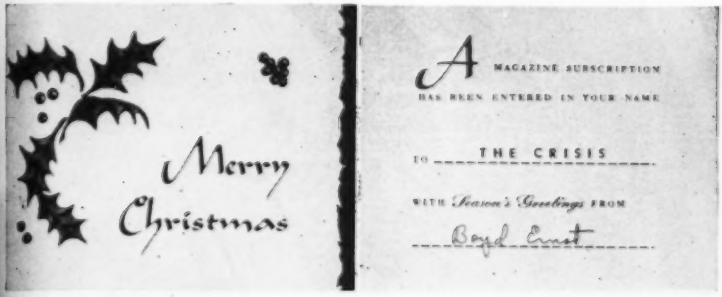
Ed Bagwell

SUPPORTING SOUTHERN SIT-IN STUDENTS—*Mrs. Minnetta Anderson, co-leader of the 13th Assembly District Carver Democratic Club, presents check boosting club's support of NAACP to the sum of $248. It is received by Henry Lee Moon, who at the time was director of the NAACP's public relations department.*

Dudley Blake

FRANK BARNES (R), *life membership chairman of the Southern Area Conference, receives his NAACP life-membership plaque from NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. Mr. Barnes is former president of the Southern Area Conference.*

Christmas Gifts



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LEON CLAXTON *of Tampa, Florida, receives his NAACP life-membership plaque from Mrs. Daisy Bates. Mr. Claxton, a nationally-known entertainer, is also well-known for his civic activities in Tampa.*

Looking and Listening . . .

HOEY AWARD

THE James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice, awarded annually by The Catholic Interracial Council of New York, went this year to William Duffy, Jr., founder and first president of Catholic Interracial Council of Wilmington, Delaware, and George A. Moore, producer-director, program department of The Cleveland Press.

SEGREGATED BARS

MORE on segregation (from *The Overseas Weekly*, September 4, 1960) of Negro GIs in West Germany:

Hanau—The murder of a teenage soldier prompted German police to tell American GIs this week that segregation is illegal in Germany.

The stern warning came in the wake of a street brawl here in which Pfc Duane R. Penny, 19, of D Co, 23d Engr Bn, was killed. Recruit Bennie Williams, Jr., of 4th How Bn, 18th Arty, has been arrested as a murder suspect.

Williams allegedly stabbed Penny with a switchblade knife in front of a GI gasthaus after he had been denied entrance on account of his race.

German law, said a police official, calls for equal service to everyone, regardless of race, religion, color or politics.

Unofficial segregation which allegedly formed the backdrop to the Saturday night killing, is a matter of business and policy, said one bar proprietor.

'The guests determine the policy,' said the proprietor, 'and we enforce it to stay in business.'

In last week's tragedy, Penny apparently was caught in the middle accidentally. He had left the bar around 10 pm and was just returning around midnight when a Negro GI, believed to be Williams, accompanied by another colored soldier, crossed the street to enter the gasthaus.

A pretty, red-haired waitress in the place, the Goldener Fass, told reporters that a white GI had told the two Negroes they couldn't enter. The manager, Abraham Herzlinger went outside to talk to them.

As Herzlinger approached them, Williams and his buddy allegedly called for two of their friends standing across the street.

'You go home and go to sleep,' Herzlinger said, patting Williams on the back.

'I'm not going to sleep,' Williams retorted, allegedly ripping out a knife and switching the blade.

Herzlinger drew his gas pistol and backed off into the bar to call MPs. He said he told the cops to hurry because there was a GI outside flashing a knife.

No one is quite sure just what Penny, a steady patron at the Goldener Fass, and Williams said to each other as the white soldier approached the scene of the disturbance. But nearly every one of the 50 guests inside the bar heard Penny scream.

He stumbled past the main entrance,

blood gushing from deep cuts, then collapsed in the gutter.

While crowds streamed to the scene from six or more bars in the neighborhood, Herzlinger rushed to call MPs again. When the patrol still didn't arrive, he called a third time. Meanwhile, witnesses said, Penny lay sprawled in the gutter for half an hour before help came.

By the time the cops arrived, the four colored soldiers had disappeared, but a group of 20 Negro GIs approached, only to be dispersed quickly by the MPs.

Penny was taken to 97th Gen Hosp where he died a few hours later.

An Army spokesman said cause of death had been 'multiple slash and stab wounds.'

CI agents entered the case immediately to hunt for Penny's assailant. Numerous GIs were questioned and Williams was charged with premediated murder three days later.

A V Corps spokesman said that Williams has also been charged with carrying a concealed weapon.

Herzlinger hotly denied German press reports that the fatal fight was over a girl.

MIAMI INTEGRATION

NEGRO students began attending Catholic high schools in Miami, Florida, on September 6, when three Negro boys were enrolled at the Archbishop Curley High School for boys. The school is staffed by Holy Cross Brothers.

The first integration of Catholic schools in Florida followed an announcement last April that all Catholic students, regardless of color, would be accepted in diocesan high schools in September provided they met the usual qualifications.

Father James J. Walsh, director of the Miami Diocesan Bureau of Information, said results showed that several Negroes met the required qualifications, and they had been accepted for the fall term. All are graduates of Holy Redeemer elementary school.

First integration in the public schools of Miami occurred last year when two schools enrolled Negro students.

SAVANNAH TRIBUNE

THE SAVANNAH TRIBUNE (Savannah, Georgia), ceased publication with its September 24, 1960, issue after eighty-eight years of "continuous public service." The *Tribune* was founded in 1875 by Sol. C. Johnson.

Editor Willa Ayers Johnson writes:

It was in the late spring of this year that we realized that a great change had to be made in the *Savannah Tribune*. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to sell this newspaper. Finally, the decision was made that the September 24th issue was to be the last issue of the *Savannah Tribune*, the oldest Negro paper in America in continuous existence, and it was to be our last official act as editor to discontinue the paper. It was a difficult but necessary decision. . . .

As we examine the record, *The Savannah Tribune* has been A Great Paper for a Great People. The *Tribune* has championed 'Freedom of the Press,' and has presented all questions affecting the Negro people of Savannah. It has consistently cried out against the inequalities and injustices suffered by the Negro people. It has deplored mediocrity in Negro education. It has presented news about the obscure and the famous Negro in the Savannah community. It has espoused life in dignity for the Negro people. It has faced the

challenge of the 'New Age' and the 'New Negro' and has championed the cause of the sit-ins, the kneel-ins and the wade-ins as being morally right. It has promoted the principles of Christianity and envisioned an age of faith. Since 1875 it has been the voice of the Negro people in war and peace. . . .

DURHAM SIT-INS

SOON after the initial sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, college students in Durham began their protest against discrimination at chainstore-lunch counters in that city. Some six months later, on July 26, 1960, the mayor's Committee on Human Relations met with student leaders Callis N. Brown, Lacy Streeter, their legal advisor, Attorney Floyd B. McKissick, and lunch counter managers from F. W. Woolworth, S. H. Kress and Walgreen's Drug Store. Others present at the meeting were Nelson Strawbridge, chief of police; W. W. Peasants; and John H. Wheeler, president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

This meeting was called to adopt the first of a three-point proposal submitted earlier by the protestors and the Human Relation Committee. The proposal follows:

Picketed stores should open their facilities to all customers regardless of race;

Demonstrations should cease after the managers agree to accept the proposals;

No demonstrations should be held in Durham until a reasonable time after this integration has taken place; and

Integration at first would proceed on a controlled basis.

HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW

THE Summer, 1960, issue of the *Harvard Educational Review* (published in late September, despite the "Summer" label) is a special issue devoted entirely to "Negro Education in the United States." Price of the issue is $1.10 a copy.

Among the distinguished contributors is Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to the NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins. Dr. Morsell writes on "Schools, Courts, and the Negro's Future." One of his conclusions is:

The impressive justification for federal intervention through the medium of new legislation enabling the federal government to stimulate, assist and, if need be, to require a start toward desegregation in the resisting states has thus far not produced the desired laws. Of 2,097 bi-racial school districts segregated in 1954, only 797 had been desegregated by mid-1959. Of these, 745 had been desegregated in the first three years after the 1954 decision; only 37 were desegregated in 1958 and only 15 in 1959. Two and a half million Negro children continue in segregated schools, and at this rate, something near 100 years will be required before the job is finished.

The principal burden of this paper has been the argument that neither the nation nor the Negro can afford to wait that long. Another three generations of crippling inadequacy in preparation for life is too heavy a burden to be contemplated. Determination coupled with understanding and a firm will to serve the needs of justice and survival must prevail, and soon.

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Editorials

SIT-IN GAINS

THE wave of sit-ins by Negro students at variety-store lunch counters in the South has been remarkably successful. They have made these stores, in 112 cities in Southern and border states, do what their managers and the community did not intend to do—treat them like American citizens and human beings. These students refused to be intimidated by hooligans, the police, white supremacists as well as Uncle Toms, or the vagrancy laws. They quietly demanded equality of service, and they finally won because they worked wholeheartedly, intelligently, and efficiently toward that end. All this is a tremendous gain in the Negro's fight for first-class citizenship. These youths show again that Negroes are not quitters; that we have just begun to fight. As Roy Wilkins puts it, it gives "a fresh and dramatic turn" to the so-called American Negro problem.

SNAIL-PACE INTEGRATION

THE Deep South does not want to integrate its public Schools. Five Southern states — Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina — have not integrated a single school district. And the pace in the others is snail-like. Actually, of 6,676 school districts in seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia, only 768 are integrated. If this creepy-pace continues, as Dr. John Morsell points out in the current issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*, "something near 100 years will be required before the job is finished."

One reason for this is clear—the intransigence of Southern political leaders. The remedy is also clear—the Negro vote. When a sufficiently large number of Southern Negroes register and vote, the Negro electorate, because it will hold the balance of power, will be in a position to vote out the "mossbacks" and Dixiecrats who are now blocking democratic progress in the South.

PANAMA FRICTION

YOU would think from reading the public prints that little Panama's main "gripe" with the United States is permission to fly the Panama flag over the Canal Zone, a larger annuity than the present one, and a larger share in the Canal payroll. But at the bottom of these complaints, all legitimate, is Panamanian resent of our old friend, Jim Crow. There has been a strong anti-American movement among young Panamanians for the past eight or more years and it has naturally spilled over into local politics. To young

Panamanians American occupation of Isthmian territory came to symbolize racial discrimination, exploitation, and domination instead of friendship and the good-neighbor policy.

Panamanians were discriminated against in American operated schools, commissaries, dispensaries, and recreational centers. They did not receive the same pay for the same work, since workers were divided into "U. S.-raters" and "local raters," and most of the "local-raters" were nonwhite. Fortunately, American authorities are now taking steps to remove these racial restrictions. We hope the reforms will be far-reaching and lasting.

POLICE BRASHNESS

THERE is always something a little queer about the way in which white "cops" will often single out an inoffensive Negro for assailment. They sometimes seem to resent the Negro's demeanor or his mettle; or possibly they just do not like the way he looks. For some queer reason one of "New York's finest" recently assailed Mr. Ferdinand Oyono, a permanent delegate from the Cameroun to the United Nations. According to Mr. Oyono, he was singled out of a crowd of white persons walking on the west side of First Avenue, near the UN building.

"I was blocked by a policeman who demanded my papers. No one else in the crowd was asked for papers. It so happened that I was the only Negro there at the time," Mr. Oyono is quoted as saying. "I was offended that a diplomat should be treated in this way," he added. He also said that he had his right arm twisted behind his back and that the police attempted to put handcuff's on him. The police charge, however, that Mr. Oyono became loud and abusive when he was barred from the UN building because he did not have proper identification.

Mr. Oyono, who is also a distinguished novelist — *Une Vie de Boy* and *Le Vieux Nègre et la Médaille* — was assaulted last year in Paris by "black-leather jackets," Parisian hoodlums, because he was walking with a white woman. In Paris, responsible Frenchmen denounced the attack upon him and his assailants were arrested and punished. We are now waiting to see what New Yorkers will do. Mr. Oyono's experiences in the "Free World" must remind him of the bitter words he put into the mouth of Toundi Joseph (in A Servant's Life): "To the whites, all niggers look alike."

GREETINGS TO NIGERIA

THE sympathy and the support of Negro America go out to the newly independent state of Nigeria. Many of our forefathers came from this section of Africa, from Bonny and Benin and Bornu and Kontagora. We want Nigeria to win the respect and the regard of other nations of the world. We know she will do this through self-respect and self-realization.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

SPINGARN AT NIGERIA BIRTH

ARTHUR B. Spingarn, veteran president of the NAACP, represented the Association at the ceremonies in Lagos marking the birth of the new African nation, Nigeria, on October 1.

The NAACP board of directors, at its regular monthly meeting on September 12, designated Mr. Spingarn to represent the Association at Lagos, capital of Nigeria, where the ceremonies were held. With a population of 35,000,000 Nigeria will be the largest nation on the Continent of Africa and one of the largest within the British Commonwealth.

A noted civil rights attorney, bibliophile and world traveler, Mr. Springarn has been president of the NAACP since 1939. He has long been interested in Africa. He left New York on September 28.

DROPS RACE LABELING

OHIO State University at Columbia, following several years of protests by the Ohio NAACP, has finally announced that it will drop racial and religious designations from all application forms. The ruling also includes removal of the request for photographs.

In a letter to Dr. James E. Levy, Ohio NAACP president, university examiner Lloyd Sprouse said: "We are omitting these requests from all application forms as our supply becomes exhausted and it is necessary for reprinting." However, Mr. Sprouse lamented the change, asserting that the information gathered had never been used in "determining admission to this University." He said racial and religious data had been used for "counseling purpose in the various college offices subsequent to admission."

Dr. Levy in a letter to the university examiner on June 3 charged that the forms revealed that the questions were geared toward "establishing of group identity." He pointed out that certain forms clearly stipulated that failure to supply all information requested could result in cancellation of admission.

PUPIL ASSIGNMENT LAW UPSET

A FEDERAL court judge in Asheville, North Carolina, has dealt a death blow to one of the most heart-sickening of all school segregation

schemes—the pupil assignment law.

NAACP attorneys fighting the case to victory in the courts contend, however, that the situation just ended in Yancey county, N.C., still has many parallels throughout the South.

On September 13 federal court Judge Wilson Warlick ordered the Yancey County Board of Education to admit eight Negro students to a white high school in their own county. Prior to the order the high school boys and girls, as well as 17 elementary-age pupils, rode by bus 80 miles a day over twisting mountain roads to attend segregated schools in Asheville. Yancey county had public schools, but for whites only and refused to absorb the few Negro students.

Leaving home in the pre-dawn darkness and returning after nightfall each day, the youngsters and their parents decided last year that the perilous journey was no longer endurable.

The parents determined to keep their children home and organized a temporary tutoring system while NAACP attorneys pushed the attack on the basic problem.

Meanwhile, the school board, in a move of desperation, ordered construction of a new Negro school in Burnsville and the assignment of the "high schoolers" to the Oak Crest school, which was not a high school at all.

In his decision Judge Warlick held that the 1959-1960 assignments to Asheville were illegal because the North Carolina Pupil Assignment Law does not authorize such transfers out of the county. He held that the 1960-1961 assignments of the high school plaintiffs to the Oak Crest school were illegal because Oak Crest did not have high school facilities and because assignments were on the basis of race. He ordered the students admitted to one of the two white high schools in the county within 30 days.

Judge Warlick also held that the Oak Crest school could be considered as part of the Burnsville (white) elementary school and that since Burnsville was in bad physical condition some of the elementary school plaintiffs could properly be assigned to Oak Crest.

He indicated, however, that such assignment would have to be upon the basis of residence and distance and could not be on the basis of race.

SUCCESSFUL SIT-IN

THE Association youth council's selective-buying campaign against local bias scored another victory in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in October, when the 89th eating establishment dropped its color bar.

It was the city's "3300 Restaurant."

NAACP strategy began when Mrs. Clara Luper, advisor to the local youth unit, called the restaurant for reservations for a party of thirty. The reservations were approved by telephone.

Subsequently, Mrs. Luper phoned again to explain the table setting

desired and to order twenty shrimp and ten chicken dinners.

Youth council members appeared at the restaurant on the designated date at 6 P.M. The waiters escorted Mrs. Luper and six officers to the dining room where the manager informed them that they would not be served.

A meeting of the executive committee was held on the spot.

The restaurant retaliated by cutting off the music, turning off the lights and the air conditioning. The NAACP youth and their adult advisors then staged a sit-in until 8:30 P.M.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Luper and several others went outside the restaurant, at about 8:15 P.M., only to be locked out.

NAACP lawyers announced plans to file suit the following day. The restaurant owner, Irving Givings, countered by making a public announcement that his restaurant was open to all and that his manager was in error.

Mr. Givings then called the NAACP office and invited all members of the ill-fated dinner party to return.

The manager and help walked off their jobs, saying the owner had betrayed them. Mr. Givings then conferred with his employees with the result that they came to the next NAACP meeting to ask "sympathy and forgiveness."

H. L. MOON RESIGNS

HENRY LEE MOON, director of public relations for the NAACP for the past twelve years, resigned on September 7. Executive secretary Roy Wilkins made the announcement, "with deep regret," on October 6.

Mr. Moon's resignation became effective October 7 in order that he might assume his new duties as deputy director of public information for the Housing and Redevelopment Board of New York City.

"I can assure you," Mr. Moon wrote Secretary Wilkins, "that this has been no easy decision for me to make after more than twelve years of exciting, challenging and rewarding work."

He termed the work of the Association "the most important in the nation's domestic life. I am proud to have served on the NAACP staff and leave it with genuine regret.

"My commitment to the Association goes back to my boyhood days, when my father served as first president of the Cleveland branch," Mr. Moon wrote.

In regretfully accepting the resignation, Secretary Wilkins praised the veteran journalist saying, "You brought to your work here a sound training and long experience.

"Especially valuable in your post here was your knowledge of Negro life, its personalities, its segments, philosophies, histories and activities.

"The years between 1948 and 1960 were exciting ones along the civil rights front," Mr. Wilkins asserted. "Giant strides were made. You helped to chronicle those strides and your counsel within the NAACP staff helped

shape some of the moves that were made.

"I wish you success and progress in your new employment," Secretary Wilkins concluded.

Mr. Moon, who has lectured at some of the nation's leading educational institutions, is noted for his book, *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote*, a primer for political scientists. No successor has been designated.

HOLIDAY SUGGESTION

THERE are many thoughts about what one is supposed to do on a vacation. But the most recent was announced in New York City in October when Kivie Kaplan, Boston, Mass., industrialist and co-chairman of the NAACP life membership committee, returned from his European holiday.

Mr. Kaplan's interpretation of a holiday: twelve $500 NAACP life memberships sold abroad in a two-week period!

THE NAACP HOUSING POSTURE

AS this nation is slowly beginning to learn, increased progress in all phases of civil rights will depend upon the achievement of a free-and-open housing market in which all Americans enjoy the freedom of residential choice and movement, within their means, irrespective of race.

This goal has been one of the principle objectives of the NAACP since 1909, and its value and importance is increasingly being recognized and championed by other organizations, commissions and national leaders. While the Association's objectives in housing brooks no form of discrimination in any type of housing, including both publicly assisted and private, its greatest effort is concentrated on federal housing programs and on the role that the United States government plays in either condoning or encouraging restrictive practices by local municipalities and private enterprise.

It has long been the contention of the NAACP that the first and most effective step toward the achievement of an open market should come in the form of an Executive Order outlawing discrimination in all housing assisted directly or indirectly by the federal government. As a consequence of the massive urban renewal and slum clearance programs, the continued condonement by FHA of racially restrictive builders and bankers and the financial support of PHA for separate but equal federal housing projects, there can be no real and lasting impact on the patterns of segregated living until the role of the federal government as partner has been dissolved.

The views of the NAACP regarding the role of the federal government in housing discrimination were expressed in dynamic fashion by Roy Wilkins, our executive secretary, as he testified recently before the platform

IMPORTANT APPOINTMENT—*Julian D. Steele (L), former president of the Boston, Massachusetts, branch of the NAACP is being sworn in as deputy administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), Region I, by Norman P. Mason, administrator of HHFA. U. S. Senator Leverett Saltonstall (R) of Massachusetts stands at right. With this appointment Mr. Steele becomes the highest ranking regional officer in the federal housing program.*

committees of the Democratic and Republican parties. Mr. Wilkins called upon each party to enter into a platform commitment pledging the issuance of "an Executive Order forbidding segregation or other forms of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin in all federal or federally-aided housing programs." The Executive Secretary specified that such an order should include slum clearance, urban renewal, relocation, public housing and the insuring and lending functions related to housing. He also urged that the executive order provide for the establishment of an executive commission to facilitate implementation.

Aside from the need to divorce federal partnership from the restrictive practices of private industry, there are other compelling reasons for prompt presidential action. Through congressional action and presidential approval, equal opportunity for each American family to secure a decent home in a

suitable environment has been declared the public policy of the United States. Under our constitution, this opportunity should not be restricted by considerations of race or religion. Indeed, under the Congressional Law of 1866, Negroes are guaranteed the same rights enjoyed by white citizens to hold, sell, lease, purchase or convey real property. There can be no question, therefore, of the propriety of executive action to secure and support this law of the land.

Logic, legality and propriety not withstanding, it is a fact that the federal government by its failure to secure the rights of all of its citizens to federal benefits is contributing daily to the growth of segregation and discrimination in housing. The Public Housing Administration continues to approve grants to local municipalities to construct low-income projects on a separate, but equal basis, if they so desire. This policy of PHA and its program which provides for continued financial support of these projects by means of annual contributions or subsidies are responsible for the creation of residential patterns and philosophies which prevail in communities throughout the nation.

The programs of FHA, which are vital to the nation in order to stimulate the participation of private enterprise in home building and home finance, are equally as abusive of the rights of all American citizens. While this Agency has rescinded its former endorsement of homogenous neighborhoods, its current policy still accommodates those builders and bankers who would restrict the housing opportunities of Negro families. FHA's unbounded cooperation with builder William Levitt, despite his publicly pronounced policy of racial discrimination, is an excellent case in point. FHA-insured Levittowns now ring every major community in the nation and form the pattern for future urban and suburban growth.

The urban renewal and slum clearance program, though comparatively new, holds ever greater threat to the Negro than FHA and PHA combined. This program does not revolve around the separate housing need and movement of an individual family. Rather, it involves the displacement and relocation of masses. In the absence of a firm federal policy, established by an executive order, this program can, and, is, being used to extend or to create patterns of segregation. Southern communities, increasingly, are finding urban renewal to be an effective and economical means of offsetting the supreme court ruling to desegregate the schools. Under the guise of local redevelopment, ghettos are being created which automatically will create de facto segregation in the schools, churches, public facilities, and transportation.

The future program of the NAACP in housing is clearly established through the Association's efforts in the courts, in the legislative halls of Congress and state and municipal bodies and in its development of public opinion and support. The stage has been set. Both major parties have responded to the problem with firm platform commitments. Although these party commitments differ in the degree of action and the scope of coverage,

each represents progress. The NAACP must continue its pressure for an executive order and make certain that the incoming president keeps the commitment of his party both in fact and in deed.

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Special Assistant for Housing, NAACP

UPI Photo

LIGHTER MOMENT—*Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (L) and Ghana Premier Kwame Nkrumah enjoy a laugh at Nehru's suite in the Hotel Carlyle, New York City, on September 26. After the meeting with Nkrumah, Nehru met with UN secretary Dag Hammarskjold. Nehru reportedly was set to throw his support to Hammarskjold in the face of the Soviet Union's attempt to oust the Swedish diplomat.*

Step Up NAACP Propaganda Work

IT has been wisely said that there is no Negro problem in the United States: it is a white problem. That is, the problem is one of changing the opinion of enough whites to reduce racial discrimination and the racial prejudice on which it is based.

The task before our members, therefore, is not just to try to reach the Negro community, to get them to support our organization and program. At least as important is the attempt to reach out in our propaganda and educational work to the white community, to get more of them to understand better what we are striving for and perhaps to support us as well.

A good way to do that is to prepare speakers on the program of the NAACP and to try to secure for them speaking dates before organizations that are wholly or predominantly white.

Most churches, and the Jewish synagogues or temples, take speakers for the organizations connected with them, such as women's guilds, men's clubs or youth groups. If they are offered a speaker by a letter to the minister or rabbi which could be followed up by a personal or telephone call, it will get results fairly often. A good way to begin would be to try to get the Ministers' Alliance or Association to take such a speaker. Most such ministerial alliances, including a good many in the South, include Negro ministers—if they take the trouble to join. If they support the idea of having an NAACP speaker it is unlikely that such a speaker would be turned down.

Other community organizations will take speakers. Forums of course are always trying to get speakers and often pay for them as well. If it is an important forum the National Office will try to supply a speaker from the staff, the board, or the list of vice-presidents. If there is a local branch of the American Association for the United Nations (Mrs. Roosevelt is the honorary president of it) or a group interested in the discussion of foreign policy, they might take a speaker on the bad effect of racial discrimination on our foreign relations.

The local Leagues of Women Voters may take a speaker on some phase of our program. The League branches are usually open to Negro members, though comparatively few colored women join.

In some cases a union or the central labor body or the state AFL-CIO branch might be persuaded to take an NAACP speaker. In the letter to the secretary or chairman making such an offer it should be pointed out that our annual convention resolutions support organized labor and demo-

cratic trade unions; we support also better social security and higher minimum wages, and we oppose the state "right to work" laws (the name is misleading of course), all of which are part of the legislative program of the AFL-CIO.

The National Office is willing to help in providing speakers but cannot always meet the demand. All our larger branches should have speakers' training classes so that they can do a good job when they get a chance to speak before some outside organization. Besides knowing our present policy they should know the past achievements of the NAACP in legislation, such as the various state fair employment, fair education, and fair housing practice laws and the other civil-rights legislation; in administrative action such as the war time federal fair employment practice commission and ending segregation in the Armed Services, and in the brilliant series of court decisions which have been won.

They should be able to answer questions about present policy, our exclusion of Communists and our support of anti-Communist foreign policy measures, and about the difference in longevity, crime rates, etc., of whites and Negroes. For example, poor southern whites from the Appalachian Mountain regions who come to northern cities such as Cincinnati and Chicago have shown much the same patterns of social deficiency which are charged against Negroes, and there are several fairly recent magazine articles on just that situation.[1] The National Office has some fairly good mimeographed material on the topics which can be helpful to speakers or to branches starting speaker' training classes.

When your branch or state organization sends out a speaker to any group, he should be armed with leaflets or pamphlets from the National Office. He should also take a press release for the local paper (double spaced) giving in as few words as possible the main points that the speaker makes. Ask the president or secretary of the organization that invited the speaker to take the release to the local paper, or your speaker can volunteer to do that himself. It is important to add the name of the president or presiding officer of the organization that invited our speaker.

Of course it is easier to reach the white northern community with these things than the white southern community. But even in the South it may be possible to reach some interdenominational ministerial association with an NAACP speaker and some college classes on sociology or political science may take one of our speakers, even in white colleges, especially in one that has recently admitted Negro students. We can always put our best foot forward, anyway, to win friends.

One of the Richmond (Va.) papers which was not in favor of integration commented favorably (and I guess with some surprise) on the good behavior of the Negro students in a lunch counter sit-in demonstration.

1. "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago," by Albert N. Votaw. *Harper's*, February, 1958. "Down from the Hills and Into the Slums," by Jas. A. Maxwell, *Reporter*, December 13, 1956.

It alluded to the fact that they were well dressed, courteous while being firm, orderly, and that some were reading good books, while the white youth who gathered to harass them were an ill-kempt, raucous, and badly behaved lot.

Another way to increase our propaganda effectiveness is by letters to the papers which have a general circulation and correspondence columns. Such letters have a much better chance of being accepted if they are short, between 300 and 200 words is better. Make only one point or two at most; you cannot cover the whole field of civil rights in a letter. Avoid vitriolic language, typewrite the letters of course, and double space them. *Do not use the local branch letterhead,* but the letterhead of the individual writer. It helps if different people write at different times. The occasion for the letter can be comment on a news item, a politely worded disagreement with an editorial, or giving some item of news favorable to our cause which has been overlooked by the local paper. An occasion often arises in the South, for example, to answer the charge that the NAACP is Communist. The national office has material available on this point.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

REVEREND J. EDWARD ODOM, *NAACP church secretary, leads a ministerial picket line in front of downtown department stores in Baltimore, Md., in protest against racial discrimination in their restaurants. The stores now admit all diners.*

Afro-American Photo

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The COMPTON youth council was host to an after-conference party for the youth of the southern-area conference in August.

Illinois: Helene Bernard, a white member of the JOLIET branch and a school teacher, offers the following suggestions for improving race relations.

Control your emotion toward persons of different color: remember that the roots of racial prejudice in children develop through early learning in the home.

Make your child feel loved and wanted: confidence in himself will eliminate his need to discharge feelings of hostility.

Communicate fully and promptly with your child's teacher: such cooperative relations will alleviate intergroup tensions.

In order to solve the problems of racial prejudice, children, parents and teachers must cooperate and respect each other.

Michigan: Morris Milgrim, president of Modern Community Developers, was a speaker at the annual banquet of the state CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES. He urged Negroes to apply to buy all property listed so that no real estate agent can honestly say that he has never refused a Negro buyer—knowing full well that no Negro has ever come to him.

SOME *of the 250 students and adult advisors who attended the Virginia State Leadership Planning Conference held in Richmond earlier during the year.*

Scott L. Henderson

Photo by Harris

MEDIC WIVES JOIN FIGHT—*Mrs. Margurite Belafonte (L), director of NAACP special projects, presents NAACP life membership plaque to representatives of Women's Auxiliary of the National Medical Association. At center is Mrs. E. Chester Hedgeman, Detroit, Mich., president; and Mrs. J. Otto Hill, East Orange, N. J., also an officer in WA.*

Virginia: The VIRGINIA STATE CONFERENCE celebrated twenty-five years—1935-1960—of progress at its twenty-fifth annual state convention held in Richmond October 7-9.

Wisconsin: Dr. William H. Borders, pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke on "sit-ins" and "kneel-ins" in the South at the September 19 meeting of the MILWAUKEE branch. The Milwaukee branch recently made public the fact that it is sponsoring and financing the appeals filed by eight of the nine persons fined in July by district court judge Frank E. Gregorski for contempt of court.

The appeals were filed by Attorneys John Broadnax and Clanrence Parrish in behalf of the eight persons. They believe these persons innocent of the contempt charges and that they were unjustly fined by the judge.

New Jersey: Third annual dinner of the BRANCH OF THE ORANGES was given on October 20 at the Suburban Hotel in East Orange. This dinner honored Mrs. Daisy Bates "as the Woman of the Year."

Congressman William T. Cahill (R) was guest speaker, in September, at the homecoming meeting of the CAMDEN branch. Reports from the annual NAACP convention in St. Paul were given by Rev. Ethridge Williams and Dr. U. S. Wiggins. Plans for the annual branch membership campaign were outlined by Mrs. Juanita Dicks, chairman of the membership committee, and Dr. Granville Lewis, formerly of Little Rock, Arkansas, campaign director.

New York: J. A. Rogers, authority on Negro history, was guest speaker at the membership-meeting of the WILLIAMSBRIDGE branch on September 7.

Major Braxton, president of the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch, was recently appointed to the Suffolk County Migrant and Slum Clearance Committee.

The SPRING VALLEY branch has reorganized its annual citizenship award. This award is given annually to the graduating high-school senior who rates highest in scholarship, organizational participation, and intergroup relations. This year's winners are Susan Glicken and Blake Gordon. Their names will be inscribed on a plaque to be hung in the Spring Valley High School. Dorothy Hassler is chairman of the educational committee.

Mrs. Dorothy Burnett (Center), president of The Variettes, Inc., presents a check for $50.00, as down payment on an NAACP life membership, to Sandford Lewis, president of the Flushing, N. Y., branch.

Ed Bagwell

LAST OF LITTLE ROCK NINE—*Carlotta Walls (L) and Jefferson Thomas (2nd from R) visited New York office of the NAACP last summer in celebration of their graduation from Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas. Roy Wilkins is second from left; at right is Mrs. Daisy Bates, their mentor and guiding spirit through the 1957 school integration crisis.*

Executive secretary of the DETROIT branch, Arthur Johnson, reports that his branch set a record for high-level achievement during the recent membership and freedom-fund campaigns. There was a net of 21,842 regular members and 457 life members for a total of 22,299, which makes the Detroit branch the largest in the nation. Income from memberships was $46,688.14; from the freedom dinner, $55,327, an all-time record.

Nevada: Members of the MINERAL COUNTY branch joined with pickets from the Reno-Sparks branch to picket the F. W. Woolworth store on Virginia Street in Reno. Reno-Sparks pickets were Mrs. Alfred Smith, Samuel Baynes, John Reid, Ulysses Woodard, Bertha Woodard, and Yvonne Lewis. The Mineral County pickets were Herman Garry, Robert Davis, William Parker, Richard McNeal, Joe White, Herchell Bryant, Oliver Wert, and Claton Williams, the branch president.

College and School News

The FORDHAM UNIVERSITY school of general studies (Bronx, N. Y.) is offering a course this fall in "The High Cost of Discrimination." Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S. J., assistant professor of theology at Fordham and assistant chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, teaches the course.

■

The Rev. Robert W. Gleason, S. J., chairman of the department of theology at Fordham, examines enforced segregation in an article, "The Immorality of Segregation," in the autumn issue of *Thought*, the university quarterly.

■

TUNER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, Atlanta, Georgia, a cooperating unit of the Interdenominational Theological Center, began its 67th session this fall as the only fully acredited this fall as the only fully accredited Episcopal Church.

■

What amounts to an informal understanding between the State University of New York's Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn and a small group of Ghanian students took another step forward in September when Kwaku Kwateng became the third student from Ghana to assume the duties of Medical Center stock assistant while continuing his education at night. Each boy in turn has recommended his successor for the Medical Centerpost. The first, hired in 1955, was Jaw Manu; his successor was Anthony Mensah.

■

Seventeen recent graduates of BISHOP COLLEGE have received gainful employment throughout the United States. Sixteen are in the teaching profession, and one, Bar-

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DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT

bara Jean Chambers of Montgomery, Alabama, has been employed by the Telephone Company of Omaha, Nebraska.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY is now receiving applications for the Counseling and Guidance Institute to be held at the university January 30-May 19, 1961. November 18 is the deadline for receipt of completed application forms.

Thirty-one appointments will be made to the Institute, which is being held under contract with the U. S. Office of Education as authorized by the National Defense Educational Act.

Dr. Rushton Coulborn, chairman of the department of history at Atlanta, has been awarded a fellowship for the academic year 1960-61 at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California.

Dr. Coulborn, who assumed his present position in 1939, is editor and author of the latter half of *Feudalism in History*, a comparative study, and author of *The Origin of Civilized Societies*, in which he deals comparatively with the origins of the primary civilized societies in the Old and the New Worlds.

■

Dr. Samuel P. Massie, professor of chemistry and chairman of the department at FISK UNIVERSITY, has joined the staff of the National Science Foundation as associate program director for advanced science education, Special Projects in Education.

Dr. Massie, in this role, will have

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charge of programs relating to visiting scientists, college, high-school and foreign visitors, research participation programs for high-school teachers, and supplementary programs in science education.

Dr. Massie has been given a leave of absence from his post at Fisk in order that he might assume this position.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, Fisk president, has announced the appointments of a dean of chapel and twelve faculty members, including six holders of the doctorate, at Fisk this fall.

■

A new African History Club has been formed by a group of graduate students and faculty at BOSTON UNIVERSITY. The club was organized by Douglas L. Wheeler, a graduate student in history; and Norman R. Bennett, the club faculty advisor and history instructor in the college of liberal arts. The club will feature at least one speaker a month during the academic year 1960-61 and will sponsor discussions of the current African situation as well as African history, both ancient and modern.

■

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE enrolled one of the first students to arrive in this country under the "Airlift-Africa, 1960" transportation plan. He is Samuel Geoefrey Okello-Onyango of Kakiimba, Kenya.

Dr. August Meier, assistant professor of history at Morgan, has entered into a contract with Hill and Wang, publishers of New York City, to write a short history of the American Negro. The book will be a concise, authoritative history of the Negro in the United States from the time of his arrival down to the press ent day. He will devote a chapter to the Negro's African heritage, with stress on his evolving relationship with American civilization.

JAMES W. DAVIS, *Tougaloo senior—awarded Woodrow Wilson fellowship for study at Northwestern.*

Dr. Homer E. Favor, assistant professor of economics at Morgan, has just completed "The Baltimore Laboratory," a study of the effects of racial changes in occupancy patterns upon property values in Baltimore, Maryland.

■

In response to repeated requests, THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NA-

TURAL HISTORY is offering a series of evening lectures for adults on "The Age of Dinosaurs." The lectures, illustrated with slides, is being given by Dr. Edwin H. Colbert, chairman of the Museum's department of vertebrate paleontology and one of the world's leading authorities on dinosaurs.

October 2, 1960, marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of The American Museum-Hayden Planetarium. At formal ceremonies on the evening of Wednesday, October 2, 1935, some 800 invited guests saw the stars come out for the first time in the Planetarium's new man-made sky. The following day the institution's doors were opened to the public for eight demonstrations before capacity audiences.

At that time, New Yorkers had waited ten years for a Planetarium of their own. Plans for the building had been initiated in 1925 by the American Museum of Natural History, whose department of astronomy was then headed by Dr. Clyde Fisher. In 1930, the Adler Planetarium, the first in this country, was opened in Chicago. Its immediate success spurred the building of planetariums in Philadelphia (opened in 1933) and Los Angeles (opened early in 1935). It was not until 1933 that the American Museum of Natural History—through the efforts of F. Trubee Davison, then president of the Museum, Dr. Fisher and others—was able to secure funds for the proposed building in New York. The purchase of the Zeiss projector and other main instruments was made possible by a $150,000 gift from Charles Hayden, for whom the Planetarium is named. Funds for the construction of the building itself were obtained by a loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which was expedited through the personal interest of Robert Moses.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY is now offering a night class for in-service ministers. The course is sponsored jointly by the university department of religion and the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Shaw was host on September 15 to The General Baptist Convention of North Carolina, Inc., which voted unanimously to take over the university's capital indebtedness in the amount of $291,500.

■

President Robert P. Daniel of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE has announced thirty-nine staff additions and replacements for the academic year, 1960-61. He also announced nine faculty promotions.

VSC is now providing, as of September 26, a television-correspondence and seminar course coordinated with the NBC-TV series, Continental Classroom, during 1960-61.

■

Dr. Lyman B. Brooks, provost of the NORFOLK DIVISION of Virginia State College, has announced five staff promotions for the school-year 1960-61.

The Norfolk Division has announced April 7-8, 1961 as dates for

its annual spring carnival.

■

In their new book, *Husbands and Wives:* The Dynamics of Married Living, by Dr. Robert O. Blood, Jr., and Dr. Donald Wolfe, both of the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN Institute for Social Research, the authors, among other findings, report that "Negro husbands have usually low power" as compared to white husbands, and this "seems to be the result of discrimination in jobs, segregated housing and the poor schooling of Negro men. Such factors undermine the morale of the Negro male, weakening his position in the eyes of his family." The book is published by the Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, and sells for $5.00.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY reports an enrollment of approximately 270 freshmen this year and a total student body of about 900. This year's freshman class is the third largest freshman class in the history of the school.

■

Spottswood W. Robinson, III, 44, of Richmond, Virginia, has been appointed dean of the HOWARD UNIVERSITY Law School to succeed Dr. James Madison Nabrit, Jr., who was appointed Howard president in July.

The Howard University Choir returned to the United States in September after an 80-day concert tour of Latin America. Warner Lawson, choir director and dean of the Howard School of Music, described the tour as "absolutely fantastic."

Kenneth L. Bryant
M. D.
Howard Medical School

President Nabrit has revealed a plan for a comprehensive, three-point institutional self-study program designed to make Howard a "really outstanding" university. The study will examine the effectiveness of the university's current policies and practices, define its role in light of recent social changes, and determine the direction Howard will take in future years.

NOTICE

The new CRISIS address is 16 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

The JOURNAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Edited by Anne O'H. Williamson

SURVEYS AFRICA

The Spring & Summer 1960 Issue Focuses on

"Dawn in the Dark Continent: Politics, Problems, Promises."

Articles by both African and non-African authorities mirror all aspects of an awakening Africa. Among the contributors: **Emory Ross, Charles H. Wesley, William Leo Hansberry, Elliott P. Skinner, Trevor Huddleston, Kalu Ezera, Mercer Cook, T. Peter Omari, Joseph Adegbite.**

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Book Reviews

MISSISSIPPI PINE WOODS

***The Magnolia Jungle*: The Life, Times and Education of a Southern Editor. By P. D. East. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960. XI+243pp. $3.95.**

Though Americans generally like success stories, *The Magnolia Jungle* will unfortunately not be a best seller. The success in this autobiographical account of the non-conformist editor, P. D. East, of *The Petal Paper*, published in the south-central part of Mississippi, cannot be measured by the bank book. Its success must be evaluated instead by the painful but rewarding experience of one man clearing his own way in the magnolia jungle of the south and of his own mind so that he could be at peace with himself and his God. With pathos, humor, and sensitivity, East recalls his childhood in the cut-over pine woods of Mississippi, his worry over God when the revival preacher annually pitched his tent and his running battle with his storekeeper-employer who insisted he cheat the customers, especially if they were Negroes. After a hitch in the army, followed by various jobs on the railroad and labor-union papers, East established his own paper in 1953.

At first *The Petal* was full of "Love American Motherhood and Hate Sin," and as a consequence East had no trouble selling it and himself. East, looking back on those halycon days, believes he should have gotten a Pulitzer prize for "Pleasing Everyone," had such a prize existed. Though East had his fellow Kiwanians' desire to make money, he did not have the insensitive soul necessary to do so. When East took, what in the eyes of his advertisers and subscribers was the wrong side on a local labor issue and a state amendment question, the paper's revenue dropped drastically. He began to realize that the Citizen Council's attempt at thought control was not confined to race relations, but included all areas of community activity. As a result, East's original attitude of indifference to the 1954 Supreme Court decision changed to one of uncompromising support.

In 1956 East published a full-page "ad" in which he invited the local whites to be Super-superior by joining the Citizen's Clan so as to be socially acceptable and free from social worries. This "ad" is typical of the biting satire which is the chief weapon of editor East, but it lacks the folksy humor of a Harry Golden. Since the "ad" was republished in several national magazines, East's name has become well known in liberal northern circles, at the expense of subscriptions in his home town. Petal, Mississippi, in spite of itself, will go down in the history of American journalism as have other formerly unknown small towns, such

"One of the most penetrating analyses of the sit-in movement and its implications for democracy in America that I have read. UNFINISHED REVOLUTION is, I state without qualification, required reading for all who would understand where the American Negro is going and by what road. No comparable recent work probes so deeply beneath the surface of this dramatic movement and comes up with so much challenging, provocative and new thinking." —A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

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LIBERATION

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as Alton, Illinois, where the abolitionist editor Lovejoy was killed, and Girard, Kansas, where the famous Socialist paper, *Appeal To Reason*, was published. *The Magnolia Jungle* is a stark reminder the free independent editor still endures during a time more noted for conformity than independence.

SHERMAN MERRILL
Instructor of History
Morgan State College

The Other Side of Jordan. **By Harry S. Ashmore. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1960. 155pp.**

Mr. Ashmore, author of *The Negro and the Schools* and *An Epitaph for Dixie* and former executive editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, now turns his attention to the problems faced by Negroes outside the South. His thesis is that the "Negro problem" is national, not just sectional, although the cruder forms of racial snobbery are still to be found in Mencken's "Bible Belt." Most of the book is about the plight of Negroes in Harlem and the New York Metropolitan area and he selects Harlem for study because it is a symbol of the condition of Negroes in northern urban areas.

Some of the topics are Negro political and labor leaders, housing, education, the "Muslims," and Puerto Rican neighbors in Negro ghettos. Problems of the growing Negro middle class and the "spectacular forays of the Southern college students who have broken out of the orderly channels of legal protest against discrimination" are likewise given attention.

Mr. Ashmore discusses these and other topics with wit, humour, and liveliness.

J.W.I.

The New Nigerian Elite

Hugh H. Smythe and Mabel M. Smythe

Based on extensive field work, including interviews with 156 members of the elite, this study describes the preparation of the elite for the responsibilities of self-government, and problems of adjustment involving indigenous traditional society and British colonial structure. $5.00

The Emerging States of French Equatorial Africa

Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff

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Ghana: The Road To Independence, 1919-1957

F. M. Bourret

This carefully documented survey discusses the problems faced by the Gold Coast as it slowly moved toward independence, and examines the organization and functioning of the new state. $5.75

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STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

***Political Man:* The Social Bases of Politics. By Seymour Martin Lipset. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960. 432 pp. $4.95.**

In this interesting and provocative book Professor Lipset draws together in an interpretative fashion much of the diverse and specialized research that has been done in that relatively new specialty of the social sciences known as political sociology (the analysis of political processes and institutions as a special phase of the systematic study of social relationships).

The author focuses his attention on an analysis of democracy and what makes it successful or not successful. In discussing his subject he ranges over a wide variety of questions—from the problem of democratic government in the underdeveloped nations of the world; from why the South is a one-party section to why Nelson Rockefeller seems so much like a New Deal Democrat. In the course of his wide-ranging inquiry here are some of the points that Lipset makes:

That stable democracies are most likely to exist under conditions of advanced industrialization, urbanization, and a high degree of education and prosperity (with income distributed so that there is a large middle class and relatively few poor people);

That the chief basis for party politics is class divisions (the Democratic party being basically the party of the lower classes; the Republicans, the upper classes), though religious and ethnic factors, and special historical conditions, limit this generalization;

That where there are extreme variations in standards of living, class antagonisms are likely to be too intense to make a stable democracy possible (since democracy depends not only on cleavage—class and other divisions—but also on a basic consensus), but that where there is a generally high standard of living there is likely to be a greater consensus, greater tolerance, and a more stable democracy;

That in a stable democracy people are affected by a variety of cross-currents, so that the party of the lower class appeals to a significant number of the upper class, and the party of the upper class appeals to a significant proportion of those in the lower class (as in the United States and Great Britain), though the drift, even in stable democracies, is leftward in the long run;

That there are both democratic and extremist (authoritarian) manifestations of the ideologies of upper, middle and lower classes—traditional dictatorships like those of Spain and Portugal represent upper-class interests; Fascist dictatorships like those of Germany and Italy were based, originally at least, on the dissatisfactions of the middle class of small entrepreneurs, farm owners, and professional people; Peronism *(Peronismo)* and Communism represent the extremism of the lower class;

That extremist ideologies arise when one or more classes are insufficiently integrated into the political structure, and/or feel a threat to their status;

That the lower classes tend to be more authoritarian than the upper classes, other things being equal;

That in view of the poverty and lack of industrialization of underdeveloped areas the prognosis for successful democracy in those areas is rather dim, especially since rapid industrialization seems to be accompanied by the rise of extremist leftist ideologies (Communism);

That middle and upper-class Negroes tend to vote Democratic because in non-economic respects their status is low rather than high.

Professor Lipset can be—and has been—criticized on a number of points.

To me, as a historian, Lipset seems to have misunderstood and misapplied certain historical data. But the book is a suggestive and provocative one, that should be read by all interested in the conditions and prospects of democracy in the modern world.

AUGUST MEIER
Morgan State College

MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

SENATOR Jacob K. Javits (R, N.Y.) has written a sanguine report on American progress toward equality in *Discrimination—U. S. A.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1960, VIII + 310 pp., $4.95). Senator Javits is mostly concerned with the various court decisions which have, over the past fifteen or more years, gradually whittled away the more egregious forms of racial and religious discrimination. His claim that America is "the only nation in all man's long history that dared mixed so many different races, nationalities, and religions, and, having mixed them, dared to declare that the end could be equal rights and equal opportunity for all" is highly dubious. Brazil alone has mixed a greater variety of races, if not nationalities, than the USA, and has done it successfully, without the endemic racephobia that corrupts American democracy. Although Senator Javits' has done a good reportorial job, his book contains nothing new, nor is it analytical.

What relation, if any, is there between racial prejudice and mental health? Marie Johoda seeks an answer in her *Race Relations and Mental Health* (New York: UNESCO, Columbia University Press, 1960, 48 pp., 50c). "The idea that healthy persons are altogether rational belongs," she says, "to pre-psychoanalytic thought and can no longer be maintained." She also remarks that racial attitudes cannot be improved by "a direct appeal on a rational and ethical level. . . . Communication research has again and again demonstrated that it is difficult to reach people through public appeal who are not already in favour of the views expressed." Miss Jahoda has written a thought-provoking pamphlet.

These two handy textbooks—James Grant's *A Geography of Western Nigeria,* III 95 pp., $1.00; J. H. Jennings' *Elementary Map Interpretation,* 62 pp., $1.50: New York, Cambridge University Press, 1960 — although written for African school children are useful for those American readers who may wish to explore some elementary facts about Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone.

Americans who wish to learn about African history will find the newly issued *The Journal of African History* (Cambridge University Press, New York, $5.50 per volume) an important and useful addition to their libraries. The journal is edited by Dr. Roland Oliver, reader in the history of Africa in the University of London; and Dr. J. D. Fage, lecturer in the history of Africa at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. It has a distinguished editorial advisory board consisting of Eric Axelson. Witwatersrand; Philip D. Curtin, Wisconsin; W. B. Fagg, British Museum; P. N. S. Mansergh, Cambridge; R. Mauny, IFAN, Dakar; J. Desmond Clark, Livingstone; K. Onwuke Dike, Ibadan; Ch.-André Julien, Sorbonne and Rabat; G. Mathew, Oxford; and J. Stengers, Université Libre, Brussels.

The first issue (Volume 1, 1960, Number 1) contains the following articles: "The Niger and the Classics: the history of a name," by C. K. Meek; Patterned Walling in "African Folk Building," by James Walton; "East African Coin Finds and their Historical Significance," by G. S. P. Freeman-

Billy Duncan

THESE FOUR *were arrested as "sit-inners" at Silvers' five-and-ten store in Memphis, Tenn., in August. From L, they are Rev. Edgar Young, Vera Henderson, Harroll Gholston, and John Timothy Parsons, a sophomore at Amherst College in Mass., is the first white student to join Memphis "sit-ins."*

Greenville; "Recording the Oral History of the Babuka—I. Methods," by J. Vansina; "S. R. Welch and his History of the Portuguese in Africa, 1495-1806," by C. R. Boxer; "Christian and Negro Slavery in Eighteenth-Century North Africa," by N. R. Bennett; "The Ashanti Kings in the Eighteenth Century: a revised chronology," by Margaret Priestley and Ivor Wilks; "Towards a History of the Partition of Africa," by J. D. Hargreaves; "The Formation of the Government General of French West Africa," by C. Newbury; "The Archives of Tropical Africa: a reconnaissance," by Philip D. Curtin; and thirty-nine pages of book reviews.

"Articles will be published in the Journal in either English or French, the two languages most used for international communication in Africa today." The Journal will be published twice a year and the two parts will constitute a volume.

The Crisis, at this point, also wishes to call to our readers' attention the journal *Présence Africaine*, which has been published in Paris by French Africans since 1947 (42, Rue Descartes, Paris 5e, France, 23NF).

UPI Photo

DRESSED LIKE THE HOME FOLK—*Four members of the Ghana Delegation pause during the first day of the 15th General Assembly session of UN in New York City. They are (from L) Mr. and Mrs. Krobo Edusel, A. K. Puplam, and A. C. Kuma.*

NAACP STAND

(*Continued from page* 568)

as well as people with darker skins.

Second, anything that helps those who are economically underprivileged helps Negroes particularly. Better economic conditions in turn help Negroes to combat and to overcome the racial disadvantages from which they suffer both as a group and as individuals.

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